

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 H-03 NSC-10

SS-20 ACDA-19 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 DRC-01

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3512

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION VIENNA PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 0122

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: COMMENTS ON REVISED SPC DRAFT ON STABILIZING MEASURES

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: A. STATE 004067 B. USNATO 0028

SUMMARY: SPC DRAFTING GROUP ON JANUARY 9 PRODUCED REVISED DRAFT ON STABILIZING MEASURES (NEW TEXT SEPTTEL). COMMITTEE RESOLVED SOME ISSUES AND ACCEPTED SEVERAL CHANGES PROPOSED REFTTEL A. SIGNIFICAT DIFFERENCES REMAIN, HOWEVER, OVER:

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-- THE EFFECT OF STABILIZING MEASURES ON FORCE MOVEMENTS IN TIMES OF TENSION (PARA 3);

-- MILTILATERALIZATION OF PRE-ANNOUNCEMENTS (PARA 4);

-- AND DEFINITION OF EXERCISES (PARA 13).

DETAILED MISSION COMMENTS, KEYED TO NEW TEXT, CONTAINED BELOW. DRAFTING GROUP WILL MEET ON WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16, TO PREPARE FINAL DRAFT FOR SPC CONSIDERATION, PROBABLY EARLY IN THE WEEK OF JANUARY 21-25. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE, IF POSSIBLE ON ALL REMAINING ISSUES, IN TIME FOR JANUARY 16 DRAFTING GROUP MEETING.END SUMMARY:

1. PARA 2: FRG AND CANADIAN REPS DROPPED THEIR ALTERNATIVE FINAL SENTENCES (REF B) AND ACCEPTED US REP'S POINT THAT PRESENT PARA 2(A) APPEARED TO COVER THEIR CONCERNS BETTER.

2. PARA 3: FIRST BRACKETTED PARAGRAPH UNDER "OR" SUGGESTED, NOT VERY CONFIDENTLY, BY UK REP. SECOND SUGGESTED BY DUTCH REP, WHO BASED IT UPON THE LANGUAGE IN THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE RECENT WORKING GROUP COMMENTARY (USNATO 6276). UK REP REACTED FAVORABLY TO DUTCH PROPOSAL, WHICH HE BELIEVED MIGHT COMPLEMENT AND NOT REPLACE UK SUGGESTION. CANADIAN REP SAID THAT OTTAWA HAD CAREFULLY REVIEWED THE POST-WAR HISTORY OF SACEUR REACTIONS AND THE USE OF THE NATO ALERT SYSTEM DURING TIMES OF EAST-WEST TENSION AND OBSERVED THAT EVEN DURING THE CZECH CRISIS, NATO FORCES ONLY INCREASED THEIR STATE VIGILANCE AND THAT SACEUR HAD NEVER DEPLOYED FORCES IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET MOVES IN EASTERN EUROPE. THUS, OTTAWA SUPPORTED U.S. VIEW THAT THESE STABILIZING MEASURES WOULD NOT INHIBIT SACEUR'S CAPABILITIES, SINCE ANY CONDITIONS IN WHICH HE WOULD MOVE FORCES WOULD BE SO EXTREME THAT ANY AGREEMENT ON STABILIZING MEASURES WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE BEEN CALLED INTO QUESTION. CANADIAN REP SAID SAME VIEW WOULD APPLY TO PARA 13. SHAPE AND MC REPS REACTED STRONGLY AGAINST CANADIAN ANALYSIS AND SAID THAT THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT SACEUR'S RESPONSE TO THE CZECH CRISIS AS A VALID PRECEDENT OR GUIDELINE, SINCE SOVIET FORCES ON THAT OCCASION WERE CLEARLY DIRECTED AGAINST AN EAST EUROPEAN STATE AND NOT AGAINST THE WEST. (COMMENT: SEVERAL REPS REACTED FAVORABLY TO LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY DUTCH REP. REQUEST GUIDANCE ON A FORMULATION ACCEPT-
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ABLE TO U.S. END COMMENT)

3. PARA 4: BELGIAN AND DUTCH REPS CONTINUED TO THINK THAT ALL PARTIES TO THE AGREEMENT SHOULD BE DIRECT RECIPIENTS OF PRE-NOTIFICATIONS. THIS WAS ONE OF THE RARE INSTANCES IN WHICH OTHER ALLIES COULD BE SEEN TO BE ACTIVE IN PHASE I OF MBFR AND PUBLIC OPINION WOULD FAIL TO UNDERSTAND IF ALLIED GOVERNMENTS DID NOT RECEIVE SOVIET NOTIFICATIONS. U.S. REP ARGUED THAT INCLUSION OF OTHERS WOULD PROVIDE SOVIETS WITH OPPORTUNITY FOR MAKING DEMANDS ON ALLIES. FACT THAT DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE PARTIES TO THE AGREEMENT AND BE INVOLVED IN ITS NEGOTIATION WOULD GIVE MULTILATERAL CHARACTER TO MEASURES, AND ALLIES WOULD IN ANY CASE RECEIVE INFORMATION THROUGH INTERNAL ALLIANCE

MECHANISM. IN SHIFT AWAY FROM EARLIER EMPHASIS ON MULTILATERAL-
IZATION, FRG REP SAID THAT BONN NOW SHARED U.S. VIEW THAT U.S.
AND USSR SHOULD ONLY NOTIFY EACH OTHER. UK AGREED WITH FRG.

4. PARA 5: UK AND FRG REPS CALLED FOR DELETING THIS PARAGRAPH,
SINCE FIRST SENTENCE COULD BE COVERED IN PARA 7 AND SECOND
SENTENCE PROVIDED POTENTIALLY MAJOR LOOPHOLE, SINCE SOVIETS
COULD DEFINE "INDIVIDUAL PERSONNEL" TO THEIR OWN LIKING. U.S.
REP SAID THAT FIRST SENTENCE CONTAINED IMPORTANT DETAIL OF
MONTHLY LISTING AND SHOULD BE RETAINED. SECOND SENTENCE
MIGHT NEED FURTHER CLARIFICATION, ALTHOUGH IT MADE OBVIOUS POINT.
(COMMENT: TO MAKE SECOND SENTENCE CLEARER, MISSION SUGGESTS
REVISION ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: "SUCH NUMBERS MAY EXCLUDE
PERSONNEL ENTERING (OR LEAVING) ON INDIVIDUAL ORDERS FOR
LEAVE, TRANSFER, OR TRAINING WHO ARE..." A SIMILAR CHANGE
WOULD BE MADE TO FINAL SENTENCE OF PARA 11. END COMMENT)

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5. PARA 6: COMMITTEE ACCEPTED U.S. ARGUMENTS (REF A) AGAINST
"DEPARTURE FROM" AND "EXIT FROM" AND AGREED TO DROP THOSE
PHRASES. ON 24-HOUR VS. 7 DAY QUESTION, U.S. REP DREW ON
REF A, PARTICULARLY ON MONITORING CAPABILITY POINT, AND NOTED
THAT PATTERN OF ANNUAL NOTIFICATION, MONTHLY LISTINGS AND 60
DAYS ADVANCE NOTICE OF CHANGES SHOULD PROVIDE ADQUATE SAFEGUARDS.
MC REP, WHO HAD EARLIER FAVORED 7-DAY PERIOD, AGREED WITH U.S.

FRG REP SAID HE WOULD REFER THESE ARGUMENTS TO BONN. FRG FIRMLY FAVORED SEVEN DAY PERIOD, HOWEVER, SINCE IT WOULD PREVENT SOVIETS FROM MASSING NEARLY 150,000 TROOPS IN ONE MONTH (E.G. THOUGH SLIGHTLY LESS THAN 5,000 A DAY) WITHOUT GIVING NOTICE. UK AGREED WITH FRG. (COMMENT: IF FRG AND UK CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR SEVEN DAYS, REQUEST GUIDANCE ON WHETHER WE COULD ACCEPT A TWO-DAY OR THREE-DAY PERIOD. END COMMENT)

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6. PARA 9: BASED ON U.S. CONCERNS OVER IMPACT OF ALTERNATIVE WORDING (REF B) ON USE OF U.S. FORCES FOR CONTINGENCIES OUTSIDE THE AREA AND UK REP'S OBSERVATION THAT THE PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE (REF B) WOULD PLACE FOUR OBLIGATIONS ON U.S. INSTEAD OF ONLY TWO, COMMITTEE AGREED TO RETURN T* ORIGINAL LANGUAGE. MC REP CAUTIONED AGAIN, HOWEVER, AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMPLEXITY OF THIS ARRANGEMENT.

7. PARA 12: COMMITTEE DID NOT ACCEPT U.S. ARGUMENT THAT PHRASE "IN WHICH A DIVISION OR 10,000 OR MORE" WAS REDUNDANT, SINCE IT IS MEANT, NOT TO DEFINE "MAJOR EXERCISE" AS IS DONE IN PARA 13, BUT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT U.S. WOULD NOTIFY ONLY THOSE EXERCISES IN WHICH A DIVISION OR 10,000 OR MORE OF ITS OWN PERSONNEL TAKE PART. FOR EXAMPLE, IF THESE WERE A LARGE NATO EXERCISE IN WHICH THE U.S. HAD A SMALL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS, THE U.S. WOULD NOT BE REQUIRED TO PRE-ANNOUNCE IT.

8. PARA 12(C): SEE PARA 13(3).

9. PARA 13: MC AND UK REPS ARGUED STRONGLY FOR INCLUSION OF "FIELD TRAINING." WITHOUT THIS QUALIFICATION, DEFINITION WOULD APPLY TO ALL MOVEMENTS, WHICH COULD INHIBIT BOTH SACEUR AND NATIONAL FORCES MOVING INTO OR WITHIN THE AREA. U.S. REP DREW ON REF A. (COMMENT: ALLIES ARE READY TO ACCEPT U.S. TACTICAL ARGUMENTS VIS-A-VIS SOVIETS, BUT ARE MORE CONCERNED OVER THE EFFECT ON THEIR OWN FORCES AND ON SACEUR'S CAPABILITIES. UK AND MC REPS HAVE TOLD MISSION PRIVATELY, HOWEVER, THAT THEY MIGHT BE SATISFIED WITH FOOTNOTE FOR INTERNAL ALLIED USE WHICH MAKES CLEAR THAT ON THE ALLIED SIDE THIS DEFINITION WOULD ONLY APPLY TO DEPLOYMENTS "FOR FIELD TRAINING." REQUEST GUIDANCE ON ACCEPTABILITY OF SUCH A FOOTNOTE. END COMMENT)

10. PARAS 12 AND 14: COMMITTEE ACCEPTED REINSERTION OF FORMER SUBPARAS 12A AND E.

11. PARA 13(3): UK AGREED TO DROP PARA 12(C), IF 24-HOUR PERIOD COULD BE USED INSTEAD OF MORE RESTRICTIVE 12-HOUR PERIOD IN THIS PARAGRAPH. (COMMENT: REQUEST GUIDANCE ON ACCEPTABILITY OF 24 HOURS. END COMMENT.)

12. PARA 15: SHAPE REP REPORTED THAT FOLLOWING FORMAL REVIEW
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OF EARLIER STAFF-LEVEL REPORT (USNATO 6269), SHAPE NOW PREFERRED "50,000" IN LIEU OF "35,000." THERE WERE INSTANCES-- E.G., U.S. "REFORGER" FORCES DEPLOYED INTO EUROPE INTERFACING WITH STATIONED U.S. FORCES--IN WHICH THE TOTAL FORCES INVOLVED COULD BE MORE THAN 35,000. (COMMENT: REQUEST GUIDANCE ON ACCEPTABILITY OF 50,000. END COMMENT)

13. PARA 15(C): FRG REP PROPOSED "TWELVE" AND ADDED FOOTNOTE (2). (COMMENT: REQUEST GUIDANCE. END COMMENT)

14. PARA 16: FRG REP ACCEPTED ORIGINAL LANGUAGE AND DROPPED BRACKETS, IN VIEW OF ADDITION OF "BLANKET ANNOUNCEMENT" IN PARA 12(B)(3).

15. PARA 20: FRG REP SAID THAT BONN WAS STUDYING THIS PROBLEM CLOSELY AND IT WOULD BE TWO WEEKS OR MORE BEFORE HE WOULD HAVE DEFINITIVE INSTRUCTIONS. HE ADDED FOOTNOTE, HOWEVER, TO REFLECT FRG VIEW THAT STUDY OF THESE DETAILS, WHICH NEED ONLY BE NEGOTIATED MUCH LATER, SHOULD NOT DELAY TABLING OF ALLIED PROPOSALS. RUMSFELD

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